

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 306881
ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

66011
DRAFTED BY:S/S-O:JRKAUFMANN
APPROVED BY:S/S-O:LMACFARLANE
----- 055452 /12
R 180609Z DEC 76
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 306881

EXDIS - MILITARY ADDEE HANDLE AS SPECAT EXCLUSIVE

FOLLOWING SEOUL 10014 SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO TOKYO DEC. 18;
REPEATED TO YOU QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SEOUL 10014

EXDIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS CINCPAC

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT PFOR KS US
SUBJ: ATMOSPHERICS ARISING FROM CURRENT US/ROK DIFFERENCES

BEGIN SUMMARY: WHILE NOT YET REPORTED IN ROK PRESS,
ROK BRIBERY ALLEGATIONS, REPORTS OF BLUE HOUSE BUGGING, KIM
SANG KUN DEFECTION, AND AFFECT THESE ISSUES HAVING ON US/ROK
RELATIONS, ARE PREOCCUPYING INFLUENTIAL POLITICAL THINKING HERE
AND DOMINATING ALL DISCUSSIONS WE ARE HAVING WITH ROKS. UNI-
VERSALLY WORRIED BY ADVERSE TREND THEY PERCEIVE IN RELATIONS
AND POTENTIAL COLLISION BETWEEN FUNDAMENTAL LOYALTIES TO
PRESIDENT PAK AND U.S. RELATIONSHIP, EMBASSY'S REGULAR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 306881

CONTACTS ARE GOING OUT OF THEIR WAY TO CONVEY ATTITUDES,
CONCERNS AND RECOMMENDATIONS. WHILE WE HEAR NO VOICE DEFENDING
PARK TONG-SUN OR KCIA ACTIVITIES IN U.S., MANY QUESTION
U.S. HANDLING OF BOTH BUGGING AND KIM CASE AND DEFEND ROKG
REACTION TO U.S. ACTIONS IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER. MOST SIMPLY
EXPRESS CONCERN AND DESIRE TO FIND WAYS TO MEND DIFFERENCES

WITH U.S. SIGNIFICANTLY, HOWEVER, WE HAVE ALSO HEARD MORE ANTI-PAK SENTIMENT THAN WE HAVE HEARD FOR ALMOST TWO YEARS. END SUMMARY.

1. PRESIDENT PAK REACTION OF SEVERE ANGER TO U.S. ACTIONS IS WELL KNOWN IN INFORMED ROK CIRCLES AND TO VARYING DEGREES IS DOMINATING THINKING AND STATEMENTS OF PRESIDENT'S CLOSE FOLLOWERS, BOTH IN AND OUT OF GOVERNMENT. CRITICAL ISSUE FOR PAK IS IMPLIED ATTACK ON HIMSELF AND HIS PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALLEGED SCANDALS IN U.S. PRO-PAK FOCUS HAS ALSO BEEN ON "INVASION OF SOVEREIGNTY" REPRESENTED BY BUGGING ALLEGATION TOGETHER WITH U.S. REFUSAL TO DENY IT PUBLICLY, SUSPICION THAT KIM SANG KUN WAS ABDUCTED OR AT MINIMUM CAJOLED INTO DEFECTING BY FBI, AND SHARP QUESTIONING AS TO WHY U.S. PICKING ON LOYAL ALLY WHEN OTHER NATIONS EQUALLY OR MORE GUILTY OF BRIBERY AND LOBBYING IN WASHINGTON. THIS LINE OF THINKING WHICH GROWS OUT OF STRONG SENSE OF NATIONALISM, AND SUSPICION THAT BRIBERY CASE AND PRESS REPORTS BEING USED BY HIGH U.S. OFFICIALS TO FORCE OVERTHROW OF PAK REGIME, CONCLUDES THAT ROK WILL "GO-IT-ALONE" WITHOUT U.S. SUPPORT IF NECESSARY.

2. INTERPRETING STRENGTH OF THESE FEELINGS, SOME EMBASSY FRIENDS CLOSE TO GOVERNMENT WARN THAT THIS NOT JUST TYPICAL KOREAN BARGAINING TACTIC TO WIN CONCESSIONS FROM US AND THAT DESPITE ILLOGIC OF "GO-IT-ALONE" POLICY, PAK REGIME'S CURRENT POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRENGTH WILL ENABLE PRESIDENT TO PERSUADE GREAT MAJORITY OF PEOPLE TO FOLLOW HIM, IF HE FEELS FORCED TO THIS POINT. ROKG "PROPAGANDISTS", SUCH AS PRIME MINISTER, ARE PUSHING "SELF-RELIANCE" THEME HARD IN PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS. LONG-TERM EMBASSY CONTACT AND PERCEPTIVE FRIEND OF U.S. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 306881

YUCHONGHUE ASSEMBLYMAN SO IN-SUK, CAME TO EMBOFF HOUSE IN HIGHLY AGITATED STATE TO ASK BLUNTLY AND ANGRILY IF U.S. ATTEMPTING OVERTHROW PAK, THEN MADE POINT THAT REGARDLESS OF LOGIC, CURRENT ISSUE COULD INDEED FORCE PAK TO CHOOSE BETWEEN OWN SURVIVAL AND U.S. ALLEGIANCE; CHOICE, HE SAID, WOULD INEVITABLY BE FOR SURVIVAL. ANOTHER WELL INFORMED INTERPRETER OF ROKG ACTIONS PARK CHUNG SOO ASSERTS PRESIDENT IS QUITE CAPABLE ACTING ON EMOTIONAL BASIS; WILL GO IT ALONE IF HE FEELS SUFFICIENTLY PUT UPON; AND MOREOVER WILL BE ABLE TO PERSUADE AND/OR INTIMIDATE FELLOW COUNTRYMEN INTO CONCLUDING THAT HIS COURSE ONLY RIGHT ONE FOR KOREA TO TAKE. PARK CHUNG SOO SAYS THOSE IDENTIFIED AS PRO-AMERICAN CURRENTLY BEING EXCLUDED FROM PRESIDENT'S INNER CIRCLE OF ADVISORS. HE INDICATED EXTENT OF KOREAN AWARENESS OF AND CONCERN OVER SITUATION AND PRESIDENT'S MOOD BY NOTING THAT MOST INFLUENTIAL PRO-AMERICAN FIGURES ARE TREADING VERY CAREFULLY SO AS NOT TO SAY OR DO THINGS TO CRYSTALIZE CONFRONTATION IN PAK'S MIND AND FORCE DISASTROUS CHOICE.

3. SIGNIFICANTLY, HOWEVER, EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT AND INTERPRETATIONS OF PAK VIEWS ARE NOT ALL WE ARE HEARING. ANTI-PAK SENTIMENT IS NOW BEING VOICED FOR FIRST TIME IN ALMOST TWO YEARS, NOT JUST BY OPPOSITION ELEMENTS BUT BY GOVERNMENT FIGURES. WISDOM OF PAK'S LEADERSHIP IS FOR FIRST TIME SERIOUSLY QUESTIONED. PAK IS CRITICIZED BOTH FOR CONTRIBUTING TO KOREAN ACTIVITIES IN U.S., ALTHOUGH VERY FEW HOLD HIM PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR EXCESSES, AND FOR HIS HANDLING OF PROBLEM ONCE EXPOSES APPEARED. TRANSPORTATION MINISTER'S DISAFFECTION WITH GOVERNMENT POLICY WHICH HAS BEEN REPORTED HAS BEEN ECHOED BY OTHER GOVERNMENT FIGURES IN VARIOUS WAYS. WHILE PRESIDENTIAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS ADVISOR KIM KYONG WON STRONGLY DEFENDED ROK POSITION DURING RECENT CONVERSATION WITH JAPANESE POLCOUNS, HE PRIVATELY ADMITTED TO AMBASSADOR VIEW OF MANY IN GOVERNMENT CIRCLES THAT KIM SEONG JIN'S STATEMENT TO FOREIGN PRESS DECEMBER 8 WAS MISTAKE THAT EXACERBATED PROBLEMS. OTHERS, LIKE FOREIGN MINISTER, ARE FEARFUL OF SELF-RELIANCE POLICY AND DENY ITS PRACTICALITY. ROK MILITARY, WHICH HAS LARGE STAKE IN U.S. CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 306881

RELATIONSHIP, HAS FOR MOST PART BEEN KEEPING HEAD DOWN ON ISSUE BUT ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF COMMENTED TO CINCUNC THAT DESPITE UPS AND DOWNS IN ROK/US RELATIONS, IT VITAL TWO COUNTRIES STICK TOGETHER. MAJOR GENERAL SOHN CHANG NAE OF JCS STAFF, WHO IS WELL KNOWN TO MANY AMERICANS, HAS EXPRESSED DISMAY OVER ROK ACTIONS IN U.S. AND PRESENT TREND OF TOP LEVEL ROKG THINKING. BUSINESSMEN WE HAVE TALKED TO WHO SHARE WITH MILITARY GREATEST STAKE IN U.S. RELATIONSHIP, ARE FOR MOST PART UPSET BY AND CRITICAL OF PRESIDENT PAK'S "HAWKISH" LINE. WE SUSPECT PAK IS AWARE OF AT LEAST SOME OF THIS CRITICISM AND REACTING TYPICALLY BY HUNKERING DOWN.

4. AS REPORTED PREVIOUSLY OPPOSITION ASSEMBLYMEN SUCH AS OH SE EUNG AND OHM YOUNG DAHL, WITH OBVIOUS SYMPATHY AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF MANY GOVERNMENT ASSEMBLY MEMBERS, HAVE LED SHARP ATTACK ON GOVERNMENT, PRESSING PRINCIPALLY SO FAR FOR DISCLOSURE OF FACTS IN CASE. IN ACCORD NATIONAL ASSEMBLY RULES, HOWEVER, ASSEMBLYMEN HAVE AVOIDED OPEN CRITICISM OF PAK. VIEWS OF STRONG OPPOSITIONISTS (STUDENTS AND RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL LEADERS, ETC) HAVE TAKEN INTERESTING TURN FROM INITIAL EXPECTATION THAT SCANDALS WOULD HELP THEM IN FIGHT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS TO GROWING CONCERN THAT STRAINS IN US/ROK RELATIONS COULD GET TO POINT WHERE ALL KOREANS ARE HURT. THIS GROUP NATURALLY BLAMES PAK FOR EXCESSES AND TROUBLE.

5. WHILE FEELINGS AND WORRY CLEARLY RUNNING HIGH AND ISSUE IS BEGINNING TO CREATE MORE DIVISIVENESS THAN ANY OTHER IN LAST FEW YEARS, SEOUL POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE STILL WELL SHORT OF "GOING CRITICAL". APART FROM STATEMENTS AFFIXING BLAME TO ONE SIDE OR OTHER, MANY HAVE UNDERLINED TO US IN RECENT DAYS THAT

US/ROK RELATIONS HAVE SUCCESSFULLY PASSED THROUGH
FREQUENT PAST STORMS. AND THOUGH PESSIMISTIC BY NATURE, KOREANS
WE ARE TALKING TO EVINCE EXPECTATION THAT SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND
IF THERE IS SOME GIVE ON BOTH SIDES. FROM WHAT WE CAN TELL,
MILITARY LEADERSHIP WHICH DREADS SUCH PROSPECT STILL BELIEVES
WE ARE LONG WAY FROM CRUNCH POINT WHERE IT WOULD HAVE TO CHOOSE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 306881

BETWEEN PAK AND U.S. COMPLICATING AND FRUSTRATING FACTOR FOR
EVEN INFORMED KOREANS ON OTHER HAND IS LACK OF FACTS TO GO ON
AND CONSEQUENT INABILITY TO FORM INTELLIGENT OPINION AND INSIGHT
INTO MEANS OF SOLUTION.

6. LONGER TERM TENOR OF POLITICAL MOOD WILL OF COURSE DEPEND
IN PART ON WHETHER AND WHAT SOLUTION TO IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF
STRAINS IS FOUND. KOREANS SEEM INCREASINGLY AWARE, HOWEVER,
THAT WHATEVER IS DONE TO DEAL WITH IMMEDIATE QUESTIONS OF BUGGING
AND DEFECTOR KIM, U.S. JUDICIAL SYSTEM AND CONGRESS ARE BOUND
TO DEAL WITH BRIBERY SCANDAL TO FURTHER DETRIMENT KOREAN IMAGE
IN U.S. COUPLED WITH UNDERLYING UNEASE ABOUT U.S. ATTITUDES
ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND CARTER ADMINISTRATION APPROACH TO KOREA,
DAWNING REALIZATION THAT THERE WILL BE MORE BAD NEWS
ABOUT PAST KOREAN ACTIVITIES IN U.S. HAS CREATED INCREASINGLY
WIDESPREAD SENSE OF GLOOM AND DOUBT ABOUT THE FUTURE IN SEOUL.
SNEIDER UNQUOTE KISSINGER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: CORRUPTION, INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION, POLITICAL STABILITY, FOREIGN RELATIONS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, POLITICAL LEADERS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ellisoob
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE306881
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: O:JRKAUFMANN
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760466-0089
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761230/aaaaazef.tel
Line Count: 198
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ellisoob
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 MAY 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <27 MAY 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <27 SEP 2004 by ellisoob>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ATMOSPHERICS ARISING FROM CURRENT US/ROK DIFFERENCES BEGIN SUMMARY: WHILE NOT YET REPORTED IN ROK PRESS, ROK BRIBERY ALLEGATIONS, REPORTS OF BLUE HO USE BUG
TAGS: PINT, PFOR, KS, US, (PARK CHUNG-HEE)
To: CINCPAC
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006